

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 15744 01 OF 02 061846Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 HA-05 TRSE-00 BIB-01 /082 W
-----034965 061920Z /45

R 061834Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3997
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 15744

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, UR
SUBJECT: REFUSENIK OUTLOOK IN AFTERMATH OF SLEPAK
AND NUDEL TRIALS

REF: MOSCOW 0287

SUMMARY: MOSCOW'S REFUSENIKS ARE SHOWING SIGNS OF
FATIGUE IN THEIR LENGTHY STRUGGLE WITH SOVIET
AUTHORITIES, BUT CONTINUE TO HOLD A SET OF BELIEFS
ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM THAT SEEMS LIKELY TO
PRODUCE FURTHER ACTIVISM. DESPITE RECENT ARRESTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 15744 01 OF 02 061846Z

OF IMPORTANT ACTIVISTS SLEPAK AND NUDEL AND AT LEAST
TEMPORARY HIATUS IN ACTIVITY OF WOMEN'S GROUP,
WE BELIEVE THAT REFUSENIKS RETAIN CAPACITY AND WILL
TO CREATE SITUATIONS WHICH CAN CAUSE REGIME SIGNIFICANT
FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS. UNLESS REGIME IS PREPARED
TO CHANGE TACTICS --AND WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGN THAT
IT IS--ANOTHER ROUND OF CONFRONTATION AND REPRESSION

SEEMS LIKELY, THOUGH PERHAPS NOT FOR SEVERAL MONTHS.
END SUMMARY.

1. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT LATEST ROUND OF ARRESTS--
SLEPAK, NUDEL, PODRABINEK AND BEGUN--HAS DEPRESSED
MOSCOW'S REFUSENIK COMMUNITY. INDICATIONS OF
FATIGUE AND DISPIRITEDNESS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY,
HOWEVER, HAVE DEEPER ROOTS. MANY OF ITS STRONGEST,
MOST ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED,
EITHER THROUGH IMPRISONMENT, INTERNAL EXILE OR
EMIGRATION. DESPITE INCREASING LEVELS OF EMIGRATION
ON A COUNTRY-WIDE BASIS, WITH THE RARE EXCEPTION OF
A PARTICULARLY ACTIVE REFUSENIK LEADER, THE AUTHORI-
TIES HAVE STEADFASTLY REFUSED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE
TO MOSCOW'S SIZEABLE GROUP OF LONG-TIME REFUSENIKS,
WHO ARE CONVINCED THEY HAVE BEEN SINGLED OUT DELIBERATE-
LY TO SUFFER AS WAY OF DISCOURAGING EVEN LARGER WAVE OF
JEWISH EMIGRATION APPLICATIONS. THE REGIME CONTINUES
TO RESIST REGULARIZING EMIGRATION PROCEDURES AND
RESOLVING HARD-CORE CASES, DESPITE THE HUMAN RIGHTS
POLICY OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, THE BELGRADE
MEETING, AND THE DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE REFUSENIK
WOMEN'S GROUP. AFTER MORE THAN FIFTEEN MONTHS, AND
NUMEROUS FALSE ALARMS, SHCHARANSKIY CASE REMAINS
UNRESOLVED. THE FAILURE OF THE WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATIONS
TO OBTAIN ANY TANGIBLE RESULTS, COUPLED WITH THE FACT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 15744 01 OF 02 061846Z

THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES, IN
THE SLEPAK AND NUDEL CASES, PREPARED TO ARREST AND
EXILE FEMALE ACTIVISTS, SEEM TO HAVE LEFT REFUSENIKS AT
A TEMPORARY LOSS FOR IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO REGAIN THE
INITIATIVE IN THEIR STRUGGLE WITH THE AUTHORITIES.
AS A RESULT, MANY SEEM TO BE REGARDING THESE SUMMER
MONTHS AS A PERIOD OF HIATUS IN THE STRUGGLE, TO BE
ACHIEVED EITHER BY DECREASING THEIR LEVEL OF ACTIVITY
OR BY EXTENDED TRAVEL AND VACATIONING WITHIN THE
COUNTRY. (ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THAT SHCHARANSKIY
TRIAL WILL PRODUCE AT LEAST A BRIEF PERIOD OF INTENSE
ACTIVISM, WHENEVER IT OCCURS.)

2. REFUSENIKS CONTINUE, HOWEVER, TO HOLD, VIRTUALLY
EN MASSE, A SET OF BELIEFS ABOUT HOW BEST TO DEAL
WITH THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL
LEAD THEM TO FURTHER ACTIVISM. THE ESSENCE OF THEIR
BELIEF IS THAT IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS THE ONLY
PRINCIPLE WHICH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP UNDERSTANDS
AND TO WHICH IT IS CAPABLE OF RESPONDING, IS POWER,
EMPLOYED IN THE FORM OF PRESSURE ON AN OPPONENT.
FACED WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE, THE LEADERSHIP

RETREATS; IF PRESSURE IS RELAXED, IT ADVANCES. IT
INTERPRETS CONCESSIONS AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS, TO WHICH
IT RESPONDS BY INCREASING ITS OWN PRESSURE.

3. THUS, REFUSENIKS BELIEVE THAT THEY CANNOT RETREAT
IN THE FACE OF REPRESSIVE ACTIONS BY THE SOVIET
AUTHORITIES, SINCE TO DO SO WOULD INVITE EVEN GREATER
REPRESSION. THEY DO NOT INTERPRET PAST ACTIVISM AS
HAVING FAILED, SINCE AT A MINIMUM, IN THEIR VIEW, IT
KEPT THEIR SITUATION FROM BECOMING EVEN WORSE. SOME

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 15744 02 OF 02 061851Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15

ICA-11 HA-05 TRSE-00 BIB-01 /082 W

-----035021 061922Z /45

R 061834Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3998

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 15744

FIND MORE POSITIVE SIGNS OF SUCCESS IN WHAT SEEMS
AT FIRST A RATHER DISMAL SITUATION. ONE OF OUR
CONTACTS SUGGESTS THAT PERHAPS THE CORNER HAS
ALREADY BEEN TURNED, THAT THE ACTIONS OF REFUSENIKS
AND THEIR SUPPORTERS AND THE POLICY OF THE CARTER
ADMINISTRATION (A POLICY WHICH, IN KEEPING WITH
THEIR GENERAL VIEWS ON DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS,
REFUSENIKS APPLAUD WHEN THEY PERCEIVE IT AS FIRM

AND DECRY WHEN THEY PERCEIVE IT AS YIELDING) HAVE
ALREADY PRODUCED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE EMIGRATION
SITUATION EXCEPT IN MOSCOW, WHERE APPARENT HARDNESS
MAY ALSO MASK PREPARATIONS FOR RELAXATION.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 15744 02 OF 02 061851Z

4. ANOTHER, ASKED FOR HIS THOUGHTS ON WHAT THE
SLEPAK AND NUDEL TRIALS MEAN, FINDS IN THEM CONFIRM-
ATION THAT THE AUTHORITIES CANNOT TREAT JEWS LIKE
OTHER SOVIETS. IMAGINE, HE SAYS, THE HARSHER
SENTENCE THAT A RUSSIAN WOULD HAVE GOTTEN FOR THE
KIND OF DEMONSTRATION MADE BY SLEPAK AND NUDEL.

5. THE LOGIC OF THESE VIEWS, AND THE TENACITY WITH
WHICH REFUSENIKS CONTINUE TO HOLD THEM, WOULD SEEM
TO INDICATE FURTHER ACTIVISM, ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT
AT THIS POINT SAY WITH ANY CERTAINTY WHAT FORM IT
WILL TAKE, SINCE THE REFUSENIKS ARE THEMSELVES STILL
FLOUNDERING. DURING PAST SIX MONTHS SOVIET LEADERSHIP
HAS OPTED FOR CONTINUING A POLICY WHICH COMBINES
REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST MOST ACTIVE REFUSENIKS
WITH PERIODIC EMIGRATION OF EFFECTIVE AND POTENTIALLY
CONTROVERSIAL REFUSENIKS.

6. THUS, DESPITE CONTINUING REPRESSION AND CURRENT
LULL IN REFUSENIK ACTIVITIES, ESSENTIAL PARAMETERS
OF CONFLICT REMAIN SUBSTANTIALLY AS OUTLINED REFTL
AND WE CAN EXPECT REFUSENIKS TO CONTINUE TO CAUSE
REGIME SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS WITH
MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE U.S. TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TRIALS, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, EXIT VISAS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW15744
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780277-1105
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780791/aaaacyko.tel
Line Count: 205
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3c6d827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MOSCOW 287
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2104543
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REFUSENIK OUTLOOK IN AFTERMATH OF SLEPAK AND NUDEL TRIALS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3c6d827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014